583

595 never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

582 (*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

587 (*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

794 Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

721 Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head [554] apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[a]

Occupations: Division of Labour

433 Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by 462 males,[b] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees(in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

[a] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[b] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

According to Meek, Katab have adopted, apparently purely as a recreation, the *sharo* (*sharau, shado*, etc.) form of initiation ordeal, practised by some of the local Fulani "tribes," among whom, though it is not universally practised, the activity is to all appearances psycho-pathological in character, as it is carried out at the present time. The Katab, however, bind their bodies with cloth as protection against the cane-blows by their fellow-contestants, and *chadong gane*—as it is called in the vernacular—becomes a game of tag.

The taking of heads in war does not appear to have been regarded as a necessary condition to the status of adulthood, though an adult's status was enhanced by success in battle. (See also *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below.)

Marriage

In the case of primary marriage, a girl may be engaged at birth, but normally she is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, through the father's brother or "a male paternal cousin," and "is formally betrothed at the age of seven." Payment and/or service are as follows: (1) four fowls to girl's father; (2) one day's labour, aided by suitor's friends, annually on farm of girl's father (or cash in lieu of service); (3) 2,000 cowries or their equivalent to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e., brothers and paternal cousins; (4) presumably at the time of the actual wedding, an additional 20,000 cowries to the father (who keeps two-thirds for his use, distributing the balance among his relatives);[35] (5) before the final rites, a goat to the girl's mother, three fowls to the father, and 100 cowries to her maternal grandfather.[36] A date is then set by the girl's father for the wedding, which takes the form of capture, convincingly carried out, according to Meek: friends of the suitor seize the girl and leave her in the hut of a relative of the suitor, where she remains for three nights; on the fourth night, the marriage is consummated in the hut of her mother-in-law, where she lives until given her own hut at the end of the first year.

According to Meek, "many Katab girls" are married before puberty. Primary marriages always take place during the dry season (October-March), except in the rare case of an unseasonable pregnancy, when "the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé." Premarital intercourse is said to be unusual because lineages (and clans) are localized.

As regards secondary marriage, a man may not contract a union with a married woman who is (*a*) a member of his own clan, (*b*) a "close" relation of his mother (that is, presumably, a member of his mother's lineage), (*c*) a member of a primary wife's parental household (it is not clear whether affines of his primary wife are included in this prohibition, or her sisters and cousins who have married out of the household), (*d*) the wife of a member of his own kindred, or (*e*) the wife of a fellow-villager. As has already been pointed out, members of Minyam and Agbat clans are enjoined to seek secondary wives among the wives of fellow-clansmen, within the limits indicated here; members of Aku and Shokwa clans, on the contrary, extend the prohibition described at (*d*), above, to the wives of fellow-clansmen, and take their secondary wives from the men of Minyam and Agbat. According to Meek, secondary marriage-payments amount to 15 shillings cash and one goat (1931); when secondary wives are obtained from neighbouring tribes, marriage-payments commonly follow, rather than precede, "elopement."

[35] In the same paragraph Meek stresses inexplicably that "the father's brother . . . receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl."

[36] The cowrie was discontinued as a medium of exchange in 1919, at *c.* 2,400–3,000 = one shilling, in Zaria City. Whether it is, or was at the time of Meek's investigation, still actually used in marriage negotiations is not clear, at least to the complete exclusion of legal tender. Re marriage payments Meek notes, ". . . members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It it is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

224 a tribal hunt in the large marsh of Kagoro District. These two tribal hunts (*anerifan*), which open the Kagoro year and hunting season, are of great ritual importance. After they have been performed the clan hunting areas of each community are opened in strict order of precedence.

224 554 721 [559] Prestige is associated with hunting skill and men who slew certain beasts (leopard, dwarf buffalo, " antelope " and roan [antelope]) were honoured by special titles. There are also titles associated with inter-tribal warfare and the practice of removing the heads of dead enemies. Terms of contempt were applied to men who had removed the head of an enemy killed by another, or by stealthy murder. Indiscriminate head-hunting was not practised; men won prestige titles only during fighting which had been announced by the battle-horns. Neither hunting nor head-taking prowess was apparently a necessary condition of adulthood, but either gave a man a voice in the village council.

648 Relationships with other tribes are traditionally expressed in terms of warfare and head-hunting, the occupation of territory and also, to some degree, marriage: such relations thus differ only in degree from intra-tribal relations among villages and *kwai*, and indeed *ufam* and *tusa*.[79a] At the time of the growth of the original Kagoro settlements on Kagoro Rock, perhaps at the beginning of the 19th century, Kagoro enlisted the help of Aten of Ganawuri to drive out the Kachichere who were in occupation of the plain to the north of the Rock. Thereafter the history of eastern Kagoro consisted of a series of short fights with Ataka over women, farmlands, and hunting rights. In the west the enemies of Kagoro were Kaje and the Hausa-Fulani of Jema'a, while their friends were Katab, Jaba, Kaninkon, and Kafanchan tribes. Fighting with Kaje arose from disputes over hunting and farmlands and secondary marriages.

ECONOMY: LAND TENURE

476 It is possible to treat Kagoro economy in a summary fashion, since for the most part generalizations based on available materials do not differ from those already set down for Katab proper (see above, pp. 68–9).[79b]

Co-operative Enterprise: According to Smith, " most tasks beyond the ability of individual households " are commonly undertaken by co-operative groups of varying personnel. Certain activities may be undertaken by clan groups, by persons linked by marriage or uterine ties, by the local community, by men, women, girls, and boys separately, while others are private individual arrangements. " Co-operative work extends throughout all traditional economic activity not reserved by definition for the domestic unit." Smith goes on to say that it is misleading among Kagoro to regard different domestic units as self-contained economic units. There is neither purely individual land tenure nor individual production, and consumption itself is, within the complex of ritual kinship and marriage obligations, not limited to household members only. Cash as a medium of internal exchange is unimportant, and " the social advantages of subsistence farming appear to the Kagoro to outweigh the material advantages of increased production of cash exchange in acquisition and satisfaction of new needs, specialisation, etc." In an annotated table Smith describes over twenty named institutions among Kagoro involving co-operative activity, ranging from the planting, cultivating and harvesting of specific (traditional) crops (accompanied by ritual), and hunting (also, as already noted, accompanied by ritual), to what might be termed simple industrial activities, involving limited division of labour. Among apparently recent innovations in the field of co-operation among Kagoro are the district-wide consumer

[79a] The process of fusion noted to be vital among Kagoro has bearing on this essential fact, which itself is consistent with a pattern emerging from the accounts of other, related, tribes discussed above.

[79b] Statements made in the preceding section and hereinafter reveal differences from the Katab possibly more apparent than real, but as Kagoro have been the most thoroughly investigated of these peoples further investigation may well show that they are by no means unique in such ways as they now appear to be.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

868 The Kagoro are fine warriors and from boyhood upwards practise games of war, throwing stones, taking cover, wrestling,
721 scouting, etc. Before the commencement of a war a general is appointed, and if they have entered into alliance with others the originating tribe takes command. Scouts are used and a
726 reserve is kept, and if they are driven out from a town they smash the hives so that the bees may settle on the invaders.

Boulders are rolled down from the hills, slings and stones, knives, wooden clubs and bows and arrows are all used in warfare.
411 These latter have iron heads with flanges, and the shafts are so notched that each warrior can recognise his own arrow. It is said that they did not know the use of bows and arrows before their migration, and that they only learnt to use arrow-poison from the Attakka at the end of the nineteenth century. Stockades
712 are unknown. Round hide and fibre shields are used for defensive purposes.

728 When about to enter upon a treaty of peace each party constructs a broom of grass, similar to that used for lighting fires, so that the foe may be exposed if treachery at night is contemplated. The principals then advance to the boundary, each bringing with him a he-goat, the throat of which is cut and the blood smeared on a certain tree or stone, over which three incantations have already been uttered. The heads and skins are set aside for the benefit of the respective high-priests, and the rest of the meat is divided lengthwise, one half of each goat being eaten by the opposing forces, who are seated at some distance from one another. They then separate, each party being accompanied by three hostages, whose persons are regarded as sacred.

643 The Elders of the tribe selected as Chief one of their royal blood,
173 subject to the British Resident's approval, that is to say since
177 1905, when the first British expedition marched against them. Prior to the British occupation they had once appealed to the Sarkin Jemaa as an impartial authority to settle a dispute concerning the appointment of their Chief, but with that exception conducted their own affairs through councils of heads of families, who composed the courts and advised the Chief. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century they had no Chief, but at that time the Kaje inflicted a severe defeat upon them and exacted an annual tribute of two slaves. The Elders each gave a child from his family in rotation, until a man named Gundong said that if he were made Chief he would provide the tribute. He then struck a cotton tree, from which a young man and maiden magically issued, and he founded the dynasty of Kagoro Kings. It is related that the tree withered on the day of his death.

727 However that may be, the Kaje did not long receive their
885 tribute, but every year subjected the defaulters to a slave raid. From this time the Kagoro themselves took to slave-raiding